DEMOCRATIC

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GDR PROTESTS REVENGE RALLIES

The Government of Democratic Germany protested sharply on June 16th against recent revanchist rallies in West Germany and West Berlin. "The 'Landsmannschaften' (so-called refugee groups) are associations of political struggle, directed and financed by the Bonn Government for the preparation of revanchist military adventures," the Declaration stated. "No-one should minimise the danger to peace represented by the West German militarists and revenge politicians.

"In Munich, Defence Minister Strauss and Transport Minister Seebohm demanded, in the name of the Adenauer Government, a new dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and the annexation of Czechoslovakian territory . . . by the West German militarists. This is the same as Hitler's demand for a 'Greater German Reich', which plunged the people of Europe into the horrors of World War II. This policy cost the German people 6½ million dead and hundreds of destroyed cities . . .

"The Bonn Government and the 'Landsmannschaften' . . . are guilty of infecting the West German youth with the poisons of revenge and hatred towards other nationalities.

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic warns all the people of Europe about the revanchist hate propaganda in West Germany . . ."

In conclusion, the Declaration stated that a peace treaty with both parts of Germany, based on the democratic principles of the anti-Hitler coalition, would be the best way to put an end to militarism and revanchism and to guarantee a lasting peace.

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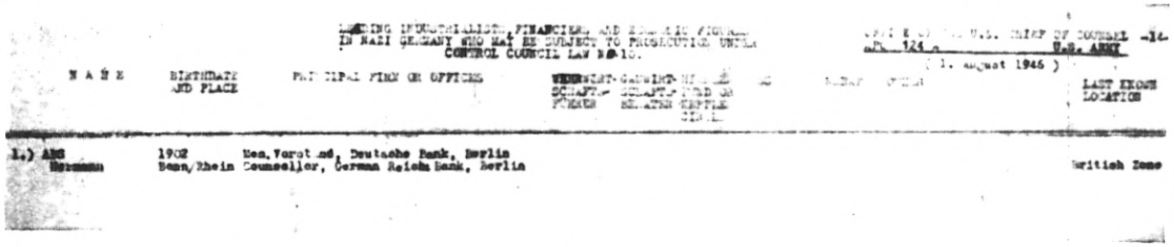
The GDR warning followed a wave, in early June, of SS rallies and meetings of 'Landsmannschaften' and other groups demanding the return of pre-war German territory. The 'Landsmannschaften' are made up of ethnic Germans expelled from eastern and central Europe as a result of World War Two. One of the strongest of the 'Landsmannschaften' is made up of people from the Sudetenland, which was seized by the Nazis from Czechoslovakia in 1938.

These rallies and the organisations behind them have become more alarming every year. The French newspaper "Le Monde" wrote on June 8th:

"Whitsunday and Whit-Monday in West Germany were once more the

(cont. on next page)

NUMBER ONE ON U.S. WAR CRIMINAL LIST



NAME	BIRTHDATE AND PLACE	PRINCIPAL FIRM OR OFFICIAL	WEHRMACHT	LAST KNOWN LOCATION
1.) ABS Hermann	1902 Bonn/Rhein	Man. Dirct. and Deutsche Bank, Berlin Counsellor, German Reich Bank, Berlin		British Zone

"Hermann Abs, banker, may be subject to prosecution" says 1946 official U. S. list

FOR DETAILS ON THE CAREER OF NAZI BANKER ABS SEE THE NEXT ISSUE OF GERMAN REPORT

(cont. from front page)

GDR Protests Revenge Rallies

occasion of more or less alarming gatherings . . .

"It is known that meetings of ex-SS men and the refugees have become a regular part of the daily events in West Germany. Regularly every year they take place at this time — most of them are completely legal.

"It is necessary to distinguish between the completely open nazi meetings and those of the refugee groups . . . In fact, the refugee gatherings at present are assuming the form of official meetings, as shown by the attendance of Ministers of the Bonn Cabinet. In Munich, for example, aside from the participation of Dr. Seebohm (Transport Minister), the rally was attended by (Defence Minister) Strauss, members of the provincial governments, Cardinal Wendel, the Archbishop of Munich, etc. This official framework is easy to explain, for since the end of 1958 all the refugee organisations have been united and their influence in Bonn has increased correspondingly . . .

"The efforts made by official departments of the Federal Republic to keep alive the memory of the old German eastern provinces have not failed of success, especially with the youth. Officially, this revisionism wears a peaceful mien and aims at finding a basis for understanding with a Poland freed some day from the Communist yoke or a similarly liberated Czechoslovakia. We must hope that these careful rhetorical restrictions will suffice to keep the Germans from the dangers of irredentism which is inclined to achieve its aims with very different methods."

The other kind of rally mentioned by "Le Monde", the meetings of ex-SS men, failed to observe rules of caution imposed at the refugee meetings.

In Windsheim, Bavaria, not far from the big semi-official rally in Munich, ex-SS men paraded through the streets. The theme song for the get-together of the old black-uniformed, brutal elite troops formation was "We Are the Black Guard Loved by Adolf Hitler". The police of Windsheim stood by during the parading and singing without taking action. When Dr. H. G. Van Dam, General Secretary of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, protested, Bavarian police authorities informed him that since this particular song was not on the list of proscribed nazi songs in Bavaria, there was nothing they could do.

WEHRMACHT RECRUITS FROM W. BERLIN

In notes to the three western powers, the German Democratic Republic protested on June 10th against West Germany involving West Berlin in its rearmament drive, in particular by recruiting West Berliners for its army. The note asked the Western Powers to take steps to end these provocations; in a separate note the Soviet Union is asked to suggest concrete measures to alter this situation.

Since Democratic Germany has no official diplomatic relations with Britain, the United States and France, the notes were delivered via these countries' embassies in Warsaw.

Charges made in the Note include the following:

1. The West German Defence Ministry is recruiting West Berliners for the Federal Army.
2. Every tenth member of that army is a West Berliner.
3. The number of Federal Army reservists in West Berlin already amounts to the strength of a division.
4. Former Federal Army members are employed by the West Berlin emergency police. This and the direct and indirect guidance of the police force by the Federal Army officers are a clear indication that the emergency West Berlin police force was becoming a part of the Federal Army.
5. Many West German civilian and military official departments maintain offices in West Berlin. In addition many 'private' groups help to recruit West Berliners for the Federal Army.
6. West Berliners called up for service in the West German army were often transported by planes of the American airline Pan American airways. This, as Deputy Foreign Minister Winzer pointed out, is contrary to all agreements on the use of the air corridors between West Berlin and West Germany over GDR territory.

Addressing itself to the Western Powers, Democratic Germany stressed that all this was a crass violation of West Berlin's legal position. The Western Powers themselves confirmed at the Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference last year that West Berlin was not part of Western Germany.

The Western Powers, still claiming occupation rights in West Berlin, "must understand that the GDR Government cannot remain inactive when, in the centre of its territory, a hostile army is being established, trained and armed by German militarists and revenge-seeking politicians."

East German Deputy Foreign Minister Otto Winzer told journalists that the facts disclosed in his Government's note only underlined the abnormality of the situation in West Berlin. Bonn's misuse of West Berlin in this respect made it more of a source of danger to peace than ever. That was why Democratic Germany was convinced the best possible solution would be West Berlin's conversion into a free, demilitarised city.

Journalists from East and West had the chance of studying originals and photostats of call-up papers sent to West Berliners by the West German Defense Ministry.

Some of the envelopes were franked "For West Berlin only. Not to be forwarded elsewhere." Also on show was a document giving the recipient — a young West Berliner due to report for armed service — free air passage to Hanover on a Pan American Airways plane from West Berlin.

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Gad Sir, Engels Was Right

By Eustace Gordon

In Spring 1960, the peasants of the German Democratic Republic joined forces to form big collective farms, thus fulfilling a very precise prediction made by Frederick Engels, one of the fathers of scientific socialism, just 66 years ago.

Writing in the German Social Democratic magazine "Neue Zeit" in November 1894, Frederick Engels even pin-pointed the northern part of the GDR, the broad lands easts of the Elbe, as the place where collectivisation would begin. The big move into the collective farms early in 1960 started precisely here.

This socialist pioneer, Karl Marx' closest collaborator, made his prediction in an article called "The Peasant Question in France and Germany." The article has particular relevance today, since the West German Social Democratic Party, which still half-heartedly honours Engels as a great pioneer, has joined in the Adenauer-organised howl of protest at collectivisation in the GDR. Here are some of the relevant passages from the Engels article:

What, then, is our attitude towards the small peasantry? How shall we have to deal with it on the day of our accession to power? ... We foresee the inevitable doom of the small peasant but it is not our mission to hasten it by any interference on our part.

... When we are in possession of state power we shall not even think of forcibly expropriating the small peasants (regardless of whether with or without compensation), as we shall have to do in the case of the big landowners. Our task relative to the small peasants consists, in the first place, in effecting a transition of his private enterprise and private possession to cooperative ones, not forcibly but by dint of example and the proffer of social assistance for this purpose. And then of course we shall have ample means of showing to the small peasant prospective advantages that must be obvious to him even today.

The main point is and will be to make the peasants understand that we can save, preserve their houses and fields for them only by transforming them into cooperative property operated cooperatively. It is precisely the individual farming conditioned by individual ownership that drives the peasants to their doom. If they insist on individual operation they will inevitably be driven from house and home (under capitalism, ed.) and their antiquated mode of production superseded by capitalist large-scale production.

... We can do no greater disservice to the Party as well as to the small peasants than to make promises that even only create the impression that we intend to preserve the small holding permanently ... On the contrary it is the duty of our Party to make clear to the peasants again and again that their position is absolutely hopeless as long as capitalism holds sway, that it is absolutely impossible to preserve their small holdings for them as such, that capitalist large-scale production is absolutely sure to run over their impotent antiquated system of small production as a train runs over a pushcart ...

The big landed estates present a perfectly simple case. Here we are dealing with undisguised capitalist production and no scruples of any sort need restrain us. Here we are confronted by rural proletarians in masses and our task is clear. As soon as our Party is in possession of political power it has simply to expropriate the big landed proprietors just like the manufacturers in industry. Whether this expropriation is to be compensated for or not will to a great extent depend not upon us but the circumstances under which we obtain power, and particularly upon the attitude adopted by these gentry, the big landlords, themselves. We by no means consider compensation as impermissible in any event; Marx told me (and how many times!) that in his opinion we would get off cheapest if we could buy out the whole lot of them. But this does not concern us here. The big estates thus restored to the community are to be turned over by us to the rural workers who are already cultivating them and are to be organised into collectives ... The transformation of the capitalist enterprise into a social enterprise is here fully prepared for and can be carried into execution overnight, precisely as in Mr Krupp's factory. And the example of these agricultural cooperatives would convince also the last of the still resistant small-holding peasants, and surely also many big peasants, of the advantages of cooperative, large-scale production.

(E. G. comments: With regard to the big landed estates in the German Democratic Republic Engels could not see the shape of things to come. In 1945 when the authorities in the present GDR were confronted with the problem of the junker estates, specific post-war conditions made it out of the question to leap from landlordism to cooperative farming in one bound. The estates were divided up and allotted to poor peasants and agricultural labourers, who came together in the past few years or months to form the large-scale cooperatives which Engels had envisaged.)

Thus we can open up prospects here before the rural proletarians as splendid as those facing the industrial workers, and it can be only a question of time, and of only a very short time, before we win over to our side the rural workers of Prussia east of the Elbe. But once we have the East-Elbe rural workers a different wind will blow at once all over Germany. The actual semi-servitude of the East-Elbe rural workers is the main basis of the domination of Prussian junkerdom ... the junkers, whose haughtiness, bigotry and arrogance have brought the German Reich into such hatred ...

"It is here, in East-Elbe Prussia, that the decisive battle of our cause will have to be fought and for this very reason both government and junkerdom will do their utmost to prevent our gaining access here. And should, as we are threatened, new violent measures be resorted to to impede the spread of our Party, their primary purpose will be to protect the East-Elbe rural proletariat from our propaganda. It's all the same to us. We shall win it nevertheless.

(Quoted from "Karl Marx and Frederich Engels, Selected Works" Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1951, Vol. II, p. 393—399.)

AMERICA'S 2ND BIGGEST CREDITOR

By Ed Sears

West Germany today, just 15 years after V-E Day, has emerged as the second largest creditor of the United States. As a result, West German bankers and financiers are in a position to exert strong economic pressure against this country.

Americans owe West German banks and financial institutions $1.7 billion, which is more than 10% of the total dollar claims all foreign countries have against the U. S. Only one other country, Canada, has larger claims.

If these claims continue to grow, they could conceivably place the Nazi-infested West German government in a position in which it could dictate the domestic and foreign economic policies of the U. S.

This is a remarkable turn of events. In less than a generation a defeated, prostrate nation has maneuvered itself into a position in which it represents a serious potential threat to one of its powerful conquerors.

Exports vs. Imports: One nation normally becomes a creditor of another nation by exporting to it more than she imports from it. If, for instance, Germany persistently sells to the U. S. more merchandise than she buys here, then she automatically become a creditor of this country.

The opposite has happened, however. Since the end of World War II, Germany exported to the U. S. $4 billion of merchandise and imported $8 billion. With the exception of 1959, Germany imported from the U. S. more merchandise than she exported to it in every single postwar year and ran up a postwar trade deficit of $4 billion with the U.S. Under ordinary circumstances she should today be a debtor, rather than a creditor, of the U. S.

How it happened: The Cold War alone is responsible for this economic "Miracle".

West Germany is a creditor of the U. S. because she sells this country a special Cold War product — military bases. These bases are her second most important source of dollars. They provide her with a dollar income almost equal to her income from her ordinary merchandise exports. Their importance to her economy has steadily increased since she officially joined the Cold War by becoming a member of NATO in May, 1952.

Since 1953, her first full year of membership in NATO, West Germany earned $3.6 billion from her ordinary merchandise exports to this country and approximately $2.9 billion from U. S. bases. Had Germany not received this income she would have gone into debt to the U. S. to the tune of $1.1 billion during this period, because her imports from the U. S. came to $4.7 billion, which is $1.1 billion greater than her normal exports. But, far from going into debt, she managed to buy $400 million of gold from the U. S. and to increase her dollar claims against this country by $1.1 billion during this period. The $2.9 billion from the Cold War bases enabled her to turn a depressing deficit into a glittering surplus.

U. S. as employer: Since Germany's entry into NATO, her income from U. S. bases has tripled, jumping from $239,000,000 in 1953 to $700,000,000 in 1959. Germany today is the largest recipient of all U. S. "defense expenditures" abroad, receiving one-fifth of all these outlays.

As a result of this massive concentration of bases in Germany, the U. S. Dept. of Defense is West Germany's fifth largest employer. Only such industrial giants as Krupp and Gelsenkirchener Bergwerks-AG, steel manufacturers, and Siemens and Allgemeine Elektrizitätsgesellschaft (AEG), electrical equipment manufacturers, have more employees than the 82,000 Germans who work for the Dept. of Defense.

Chancellor Adenauer needs the income from the Cold War bases to strengthen further Germany's financial position. When the West Germans achieve their "position of strength" they will be able to move with full force against their principal economic rivals, their present "allies." The current bitter dispute between the Common Market countries, of which Germany is the chief member, and the Free Trade Association countries, of which England is the leader, gives some inkling of the intensity of this revalry.

Time to act: The Cold War policies of the U. S. are chiefly responsible for Germany's present economic strength. By enabling the Germans to accumulate dollars, these policies have provided them with weapons to wage economic warfare against other countries, including the U. S.

The elimination of the Cold War bases in Germany, therefore, will not only remove a potential source of war but a very real threat to the American economy in general and to American capitalism in particular. It will also knock the financial props from under the militarists who rule Germany today, enabling the democratic elements to build a new, peaceful country.

Today, 15 years after the defeat of Nazi Germany, is clearly an appropriate time for the U. S. to take steps in this direction.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN,
May 16th 1960

Labour M.P.s Tour GDR

Seven Labour MPs, all from constituencies in Scotland, made a week-long tour through Democratic Germany in mid-June which included meetings with Prime Minister Grotewohl and other top leaders. The delegation was led by Mr Harry Gourlay of Kirkcaldy.

During the conversation with Herr Grotewohl on June 10th, visiting MPs agreed with the Prime Minister's view that the West Berlin situation was abnormal. "If West Berlin were to become a demilitarised Free City, under the control of the United Nations," they said, "this could serve as an example for the whole of Germany." They pointed out that "in Great Britain, too, broad sections of the population were very uneasy about the strengthening of fascism and militarism in West Germany."

Dr Alan Thompson (Dunfermline), a professor at Edinburgh University, asked whether the delegation could state on its return that atomic weapons were neither stationed nor stored in the GDR. Prime Minister Grotewohl replied: "Yes, that is true."

The visiting MPs also stated that the common interests in many basic questions called for closer relations between the British Labour Party and the Socialist Unity Party and for an increased exchange of delegations.

The delegation visited the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Memorial, the huge "Schwarze Pumpe" industrial complex, a big agricultural exposition and other areas of the GDR. The group was invited by the GDR branch of the Interparliamentary Union — it included, besides Mr Gourlay and Dr Thompson, Emrys Hughes (South Ayrshire), William Baxter (West Stirlingshire), James Hill (Midlothian), Thomas Oswald (Edinburgh, Central) and William Small (Glasgow, Scotstoun).

Book Review

"THE HOUSE BUILT ON SAND"

"The House Built on Sand" by Gerald Reitlinger. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London. 36/—.

In the past few years Mr Reitlinger has produced a series of very valuable books on the nazi era, and I looked forward with great interest to his latest volume "The House Built on Sand", described in its sub-title as a study of the conflicts of German policy in Russia in 1939 to 1945.

Mr Reitlinger's first book on the nazi era, "The Final Solution", published by Vallentine Mitchell in 1953, was a classic. In this volume Mr Reitlinger assembled the scattered evidence on the nazi extermination campaign against the Jews in Europe, and presented it in a work of real scholarship and permanent value. Not the least valuable section of "The Final Solution" was a fairly comprehensive listing of the Germans and others implicated in the extermination campaign, and their post-war fates. When Adolf Eichmann, chief murderer of the Jews, was recently arrested by the Israeli authorities, newspapers in all parts of the world were able to turn to the "The Final Solution" for a quick summary of Eichmann's history and his crimes.

Mr Reitlinger's second book, "The SS — Alibi of a Nation" published by Heinemann in 1956, continued with the good work of showing the real face of the nazi dictatorship. It showed the role played by the SS, and at the same time it demonstrated clearly that the SS state was an integral part of the whole nazi system, and could not be used as an alibi by those who actively or passively supported Hitler, but who today claim that the SS alone was responsible for the crimes. Already in this volume, however, Mr Reitlinger showed a tendency to get bogged down in rather abstruse details of personal and policy conflicts between nazi leaders, and to lose the thread of the story as a whole.

In his third book, "The House Built on Sand", the story of the policy conflicts and personal feuds between the criminals plays such a predominant part that the full enormity of the invading nazi armies in the Soviet Union tends to recede into the background.

This is not to say that Mr Reitlinger glosses over the crimes: he demonstrates that something like four million Soviet prisoners of war were starved and beaten to death by their nazi captors, something which West German propagandists are very reluctant to recall. But many chapters are almost exclusively occupied with accounts of very complicated and not always very interesting disputes on competence between Rosenberg's Ministry for Occupied Eastern Territories, Hitler's HQ, and the Wehrmacht.

Basically these disputes boil down to a clash as to whether the peoples of the occupied parts of the Soviet Union should be exterminated; used as slaves; or recruited by hunger and terror to help the nazis as third-class mercenaries. None of the various nazi officials dealing with the problem ever proposed that they should be regarded as proper human beings.

But despite the weaknesses of the book, which include a number of rather cheap cracks at the Soviet Union, it has a certain value. It is good to be reminded, for instance, that a certain Hans Herwarth von Bittenfeld was an important nazi official in the occupied Soviet Union: today he is West German Ambassador in London; another leading West German diplomat, Dr Otto Braeutigam, turns up no fewer than 26 times, coldly sending Jews to their death and trying to make nazi occupation policy work. Professor Theodor Oberlaender, member of the West German Parliament, and lately West German Minister for Refugees, and a number of other persons who work today in prominent positions in West Germany also receive unflattering mention.

Summing up, "The House Built on Sand" contains a considerable quantity of useful material on one particular aspect of the nazi terror, but it is not a basic work of reference on the same level as Mr Reitlinger's two earlier books.

Anti-Nazi Films "Verboten"

West German officials sniped at attempts to show anti-nazi films at the annual Festival of Documentaries in Mannheim, West Germany at the end of May. They barred two films from the GDR completely and prevented further showing of a Polish film on the Warsaw Ghetto.

The organizer of the Festival, Dr K. J. Fischer, planned a special programme for the festival on contemporary questions — especially the years of fascism. Some important films were, indeed, shown at this programme. In a comment on the Festival, the "Times Educational Supplement" of June 3rd commented:

"In the complacent atmosphere of present-day (West) Germany, where the trend grows to gloss over the unpleasant memories and to minimize the Nazi guilt, it was an act of courage indeed to confront the audience of some 400 teachers, journalists, youth leaders, and cinema people with documentaries recalling the stark horror of concentration camps, extermination of Jews, war crimes, and Nazi 'justice'."

But two films could not be shown. Two films from Democratic Germany's DEFA studios, "The German Story" and "A Diary for Anne Frank", were barred at the last minute by the Lord Mayor of Mannheim, despite the fact that the Festival had invited the DEFA studios to show the film. Both films presented dramatically the development of anti-Semitism and militarism in Germany and were hard-hitting attacks against the Nazis, past and present. They have been seen by millions of cinema visitors in Democratic Germany and by many thousands in Britain and other countries.

The DEFA studios had originally been denied permission to show three documentary films — "The Mother", "Art in Struggle" and "Martin Anderson Nexo". After the other two films were also forbidden, they withdrew from the Festival.

Another similar episode was reported in the article of the "Times Education Supplement":

"On the last day of the 'Mannheim Week' a characteristic incident supplied a striking illustration to the problems discussed. The International Film Journalists' Federation (FIPRESCI) awarded its prize to the Polish film 'Under the Same Sky', which uses to dramatic purposes the stark contrast between happy children in sunny freedom and the misery of Jewish children behind the walls of the Warsaw Ghetto.

"(West) German authorities, however, did not happen to share the opinion of film critics from nine countries. In fact, on the same day a letter arrived from the Ministry of National Economy to inform the festival committee that the picture in question has been refused an import licence 'because it is unsuitable for screening in the Federal Republic and western Berlin'."

SNAGS IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Socialist construction does not always run smoothly. A number of current snags and bottlenecks were described by Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party, in a speech to Party delegates from the Leipzig district at the end of May.

These criticisms should be seen against the background of an increase in industrial production at a higher rate than in any capitalist country. Criticisms of this sort, torn from their context, were used by many western journalists early in June as the basis for articles suggesting a "crisis" in the German Democratic Republic.

Eliminate War Remnants

In the first part of his speech Walter Ulbricht dealt with the German problem and the necessity of eliminating the remnants of the Second World War. Until this were done, the German people would not be able to live in peace. "One cannot talk of peace while American military bases still exist in Western Germany and West Berlin; if the occupation status of the three Western Powers still operates in West Berlin."

If the British, American and French Goverments wished to maintain peace, then they should prove this by removing the remnants of war, "so that the military bases still existing from the last war cannot be used to prepare a new one," he declared.

He then turned to the German working class's mission. He pointed out that after Germany had twice been led into catastrophe by her ruling class, it was up to the workers to take over the leadership.

The Socialist Unity Party did not approach this question merely from the standpoint of social interest, of the well-being of the people or of socialist transformation. But since West Germany's rulers had converted the Federal Republic "into an American country with an American governor at its head," it was the working class's mission to place itself at the head of the nation.

From this standpoint, the fulfilment of the GDR's Seven Year Plan was extremely important; Democratic Germany's superiority in all respects must be demonstrated. This had already occurred in foreign policy; it was following the right path in national policy through its struggle for reunification. What was necessary, he added, was to "demonstrate superiority in all questions of social order. This applies to the development of democracy, further raising of standards and developing a socialist German national culture."

As he stressed, convincing people was not just a question of showing them scientific and technical methods of work; they had to be politically convinced. "That is why every blow of the hammer, every hundredweight of grain or meat above the Plan is a nail in the coffin of war . . ."

The main portion of Walter Ulbricht's speech was devoted to shortcomings and problems, ranging from the quality of work to overzealous officials in the party and in local government.

Socialism is Complicated

Clearly, under existing conditions, building socialism in Democratic Germany — in the heart of western Europe and under constant fire from the enemies of socialism — was a very complicated matter. And it would be absolutely incorrect to present it as a simple process. It was the historical task of the workers, the intelligentsia and the tradespeople, and the key problem was "quality of the work done by scientists, engineers, workers, directors of factories, by ministers and by the members of county councils."

And the quality of work must reach scientific and technical world standards, calling for high qualifications for the workers in all fields. "That means, comrades, it is not enough to fulfil the Plan targets or to establish that the Plan has been over-fulfilled. Equally important is that the right types of goods are produced in top quality and at the lowest possible cost.

"What is the use of over-fulfilling the Plan if production costs rise; when, instead of well-organised production, costs rise because of overtime?" he asked.

It might be queried why this problem had been raised so sharply at the conference, Ulbricht said, adding: "Our Economic Plan is a very intensive one; it includes some items for which originally neither the material nor the blueprints were ready. Furthermore, because of the socialist transformation of agriculture we had to alter some items in the Plan."

That had resulted in completely reorganising the work of some factories so that they could concentrate on requirements of agriculture; in other branches of industry that had meant a drop in production.

Supplies

Under these conditions the questions of supplies of raw materials and half-finished materials had become more complicated. With the introduction of a whole number of new items in production, supply requirements were not being fully met, leading to standstills, etc.

"One must talk about these things because there is no point in behaving as if everything were going smoothly," he told the conference. Precisely because of this situation the Socialist Unity Party's Central Committee had called for economy with materials and the full use of all reserves.

Against Administrative Decisions

It was important to consider the work more critically. The tasks ahead were very great, demanding higher qualifications from everyone — from the minister to the unskilled worker. That was why the question of education had been so thoroughly discussed at conferences organised by the Socialist Unity Party.

He then took to task those using bureaucratic administrative methods. Dealing with the attitude of the individual peasant, now a member of agricultural production co-operatives (LPG), he pointed out that one could not expect "the co-operative peasant, who for years had owned his own plot of land, suddenly, overnight, to lose all the habits of the small landowner. One could not expect him then, all at once, full of socialist consciousness, to race into the cow shed or to the fields. Therefore the experienced, more advanced farmers must patiently help these people now," he urged.

Neither in agriculture nor in industry were formal instructions of any help. "Bureaucratic administrative methods are only a form of soothing syrup for some people who do not know how to behave any other way. Was, perhaps, the socialist transformation of the land achieved by circular letters? I can tell you we in the Central Committee did not send out a single circular."

Full Discussions

Some members of the Socialist Unity Party complained they were overworked. If this was the case, then

it was because "some leading members do not understand how to distribute work properly and to win all comrades to co-operate."

Moreover, there had recently been many instances of important sections and officials in the party (and in the government) incorrectly estimating the position in their area, in the factories, among middle-class people and among the peasants. This had led to a "whole series of exaggerations. I should like to say that a certain subjectivism became manifest. The officials in question relied on what they had read in books. They did not take into account the stage of development either in the village, among the middle class or among the intelligentsia."

The Brigades of Socialist Workers

Such mistakes had occurred, for instance, in connection with brigades of socialist workers. Some Socialist Unity Party members had got the idea these brigades must be granted special rights; they wanted to transfer to them certain rights of the factory director. "That seems to be a form of Yugoslav 'self-administration'. When some party members handed me the material about this I wrote in the margin, 'syndicalism — irreconcilable with the party line.'

"It is not a question of small tactical problems, but of basic mistakes. With the greatest respect for the importance of these brigades, one cannot suddenly shift to them responsibility previously held by factory managements."

No Rushed Development

Ulbricht then turned to the problems arising from over-zealous officials trying to rush peasants belonging to a co-operative of Type I (farmers pool only their arable fields, everything else remains personal property) to Type III (fields, meadowland, forest, machines and animals are pooled).

Some districts, he explained, had adopted formal administrative decisions for a speedy change-over from Type I to III. This had created great difficulties and led to a decrease in market produce. "The change from Type I to III of co-operatives cannot be worked out in an office," he told the conference, adding, "that is a complicated question of the peasants' own experiences."

"We are not interested in accelerating the change. On the contrary, we are interested in it being carried out slowly. For we believe that the peasants, having worked their own small holdings for many years, need a certain period to develop co-operative work."

The peasants' consciousness did not develop as speedily "as one can write at one's desk with a fountain pen ... The question of what will happen in the years 1961-65 is not the subject for immediate discussion. Our task is to ensure that the market produce plan is fulfilled this year, not to discuss the question of the 'large-scale co-operatives'. There will be cases where the LPGs develop in this direction, that they will decide to join together; but that is not for the district council to decide."

It was essential to discuss these matters because "some comrades show such subjectivism; they believe that they can decide the pace of development. But the banding together of peasants in a co-operative is the biggest revolution ever to have taken place in German agriculture."

At all costs targets for market produce must be attained. If some co-operatives failed in their targets for pork, then they must produce additional poultry. But the meat target must be fulfilled and not only by the end of the year, but month by month. "This means, no matter what the cost, you must organise special poultry farms, etc. The plan for market produce must be fulfilled. Now you will understand why I polemicised against those who are over-zealous, who want to establish large-scale cooperatives now and all sorts of other things."

Mistakes with Craftsmen

There were some party members who believed it was possible to rush craftsmen into forming co-operatives, Ulbricht said. However, that was a question which must be considered in relation to organising supplies for the population. In any case, if a co-operative of craftsmen were formed, it must result in two things: an improvement in the craftsman's situation and in services and supplies for the population.

Local, town and district councils must discuss the question of supplies with great thoroughness; this was the viewpoint from which they should consider the question of the craftsman and forming craftsmen's co-operatives. In any case, "an improvement must take place in supplies for the people. That is our task," he declared.

... and in Education

Similar signs of over-zealousness in carrying through some changes in the schooling system were also to be observed. The GDR's People's Chamber had gone on record in favour of introducing full-day schooling, by which boys and girls would stay on at school in the afternoon for joint activities. Some local authorites, however, had immediately set to work on how to introduce this by 1961. This would involve a 1,800 million mark increase in the Budget, which was impossible.

Clearly the introduction of full day schooling was an excellent thing, but it must be carried through within the framework of the Economic Plan. There must be enough teachers and schools and "it can only be introduced by thorough preparations within the plan and by democratic decisions by the district councils."

Whatever happened, the change-over must not take place at the expense of the teachers. Full-day schooling could only be introduced when the number of teachers had been increased. Moreover, they must be fully-trained teachers, for they have to look after the children; help them with their homework and in their polytechnical education; they have to provide interesting occupations for the children during their free time.

Full-day schooling should be introduced first in those areas such as textile industry areas where most women go out to work.

Culture for the People

Finally Walter Ulbricht dealt with the importance of raising the cultural level. Children must be educated so that in their free time they occupy themselves with painting, drawing and music. There must be an end to the old capitalist 'culture' when every Saturday night the wife stayed at home while the husband went to the pub and played cards. Things were changing, for women would no longer tolerate this sort of thing and the workers themselves were realising there were pleasanter ways of spending an evening. "Their cultural level is rising; they go to theatre and, to a large extent, are beginning to be active themselves culturally."

He then told the conference of a report in a West German paper about Democratic Germany's industrial areas. It had quoted the remarks of a young girl worker, probably culled from the GDR papers, who normally worked well in production. She had complained, however, "There are too many meetings and things of that kind. I also want to have some more fun in life."

These remarks, said Ulbricht, had been used "by the enemy. But I assume the young girl was right. Is it not time for the Party to interest itself more with the people's way of life; for it to help the people who have achieved great things in production, really to have the chance, outside the factory, of having an interesting life, full of culture?"

BERLIN NOTEBOOK

By John Peet

Holiday time is with us again, and a certain number of readers of GERMAN REPORT will be making their way to Berlin to see how things look. I hope they will take the opportunity to drop in at our office, which is just a few seconds' walk from the Franzoesische Strasse underground station. Experience has shown me that most foreign visitors have only the foggiest idea of what they can and cannot do in the two-part city of Berlin, so perhaps I had better make it clear that there is complete freedom of movement between the two halves of the city. Underground trains and the elevated railway run between the two halves, and there are no frontier controls on these means of transport. For some unfathomable reason you may be asked to show your passport if you come into East Berlin by car, however. Unfortunately there is no telephonic communication between the two halves of the city, because the West Berlin authorities cut the telephone cables in spring 1952, and tram cars do not run across the sector border because the West Berlin authorities refuse to admit that women can drive trams, and many East Berlin trams have female drivers.

But the usual summer flood of visitors is generally accompanied by a flood of often rather silly "I was there" eyewitness reports on life in Berlin, generally printed in local papers in the western world. The general trend of these articles is that West Berlin is bustling and booming, while East Berlin looks like a morgue, full of uncleared ruins.

Now this is simply not true, and I would like to explain how the impression arises. Trippers to Berlin tend to stay at a hotel in the Kurfurstendamm, in West Berlin's gaudy West End. If they venture over into East Berlin (and West Berlin hotel porters often tell them blood-curdling horror stories to stop them going) they tend just to take a short walk across the border in the area of the Brandenburger Tor or the Potsdamer Platz. As it happens, these two entries into East Berlin lead them straight into two of the worst devastated areas of the old commercial centre of the city, and they see in fact a lot of ruins still uncleared. Very few visitors take the trouble to go further, for instance to the Schoenhauser Allee, a bustling shopping street where not a ruin is to be seen, or out towards Koepenick, where they cannot fail to be impressed by the dozens of blocks of modern-style pre-fabricated apartment houses which are going up. In 1959, there were more new houses per head of the population built in East Berlin than in the west, but I doubt whether you have read about this in the millionaire press.

Just incidentally, new housing is not so urgently needed in East Berlin as it is in West Berlin. I was surprised myself to see the figures, recently published, tucked away in the commercial section of the rabidly anti-socialist West Berlin newspaper "Der Tagesspiegel". According to these western figures, there are 2.42 persons per housing unit in East Berlin, and 2.69 persons per housing unit in West Berlin. In the German Democratic Republic as a whole there are 3.28 persons per apartment as against 3.58 in West Germany.

But I should make it quite clear that this relatively favourable situation does not mean that the Democratic Republic can relax its efforts in house construction. Much of the old housing available is pretty old, and was patched up after the war to serve until the big slum clearance campaigns could go into effect. A really big wave of new house building is now under way. In the next five years about one hundred thousand houses per year will be built, and this will mean that real progress has been made in getting people out of sub-standard housing and into houses they can be proud of. Incidentally, rents in Democratic Germany, today well below those in the west, are being held steady, while western rents climb. By 1962 average rents in West Germany will be double those paid here.

CORRECTION

GERMAN REPORT stated in its issue dated June 10th that top war criminal Karl Eichmann, recently apprehended by the Israeli authorities, had been working in the Near East before his arrest for a branch of Deutsche Erdoel, one of the West German firms in which banker Hermann Abs holds big interests.

This report was incorrect. We hasten to extend our apologies to Herr Abs. In fact, Karl Eichmann worked in Argentina for Mercedes Benz, another big West German firm, of which Hermann Abs is chairman of the board of directors.

For some reason never very adequately explained, the British Queen celebrates her official birthday in June, whenever she may happen to have been born. Since the date is set arbitrarily,. I was not particularly surprised to receive an invitation to watch the British troops stationed in West Berlin trooping the colour "In honour of the Birthday of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II" on June 9th, two days ahead of her official birthday on June 11th. Perhaps the difference has something to do with Central European Time, or possibly the British soldiers were expected to get browned off if they had to parade on a Saturday.

Since I quite like watching soldiers when they are going through a sort of operatic performance which lost any sort of military significance back in the eighteenth century, I went along to have a look, and it was a pretty good show. Having once put in a miserable period as a Grenadier Guardsman umpteen years ago, I feel qualified to state that the soldiers did pretty well, though the new-fangled drill regulations introduced since my day do away with all that fine and confusing forming of fours which used to go on. I regret to state, however, that one of the colour parties stepped off on the wrong beat, which drove a retired British sergeant-major sitting next to me on the stands almost to distraction.

I cannot resist quoting from the nicely printed programme which was distributed to the spectators. It contained, apart from an explanation of the mumbo-jumbo which was going on, regimental histories of the regiments taking part, and here are two sentences from the regimental history of the 14th King's Hussars, now part of the 14th/20th King's Hussars:

"They have been nicknamed the 'Emperor's Chambermaids', because of their most prized piece of silver, a silver chamber pot which is still filled with champagne on guest nights in the Officers' Mess and passed round for everyone to toast the 'Emperor'. They captured it in the baggage train of Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain, at the battle of Vittoria."

The whole ceremony was nice and Olde Worlde on much the same lines as the Emperor's Chamberpot, but the real question is: what are these British soldiers doing here in Berlin, in the centre of the German Democratic Republic, fifteen years after the end of the war.

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